

March to April and October to November. The Tahitian chestnut is ripe on Kambara between January and March and on Fulanga and Ongea between February and April. The main digging moons (*vulai kelikeli*) are March and April when yams, sweet yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, maize, and other garden products are ripe. The term *vulai kelikeli* is used to denote especially the time of the yam and sweet yam harvest. The sweet potato harvest lasts until about November on some islands and manioc may be cut almost all year round. March is the moon when the leaves dry (*vulai mangomango* or *vulai mbotambota*).

The other seven months of the year, which include the dry season, are designated as follows: "clearing" moons (*vulai werewere*) for yams and sweet yams are roughly from May to July and the "planting" moons (*vulai teitei*) for the same crops from June to August. September is the main "sprouting" moon (*vulai tumbutumbu*) and September and October are the "ndrala flower" moons (*vulai se ni ndrala*), and the main flowering season. October, the month when the *mbalolo* (p. 136) is expected to appear first, is the moon of "few *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo lailai*) and November, when the large mass of *mbalolo* are expected, is the moon of "many *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo levu*).

SUBSISTENCE*

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FOOD GATHERING

The gathering of food from the bush is considered indispensable everywhere in Lau, because dry years are frequent. But in years with normal rainfall most households produce enough garden foods. Households with little land or with few or indolent young men depend more upon gathering food than do more fortunate households. Most households of the Vuanikathu clan in Tokalau, Kambara, must collect food because they neglect their garden land. Vuanitavola clan in the same village needs to gather no food except greens, for the men of Vuanitavola work their lands well. The inhabitants of Fulanga and Ongea, where garden land is scarce, must gather food or increase their trade with other islands.

The inhabitants of Undu on Kambara have little garden land and seldom go to it because the food from the garden must be carried over a difficult path, or poled by canoe half way around the island. Since Undu has good bush land with many fruit trees, the natives gather larger quantities of wild fruit, nuts, and leaves than do the inhabitants of Tokalau, Lomatchi, and Nggaling-gali. Tender green leaves are collected from the bush by the women of all

* This section includes food gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, and gardening.

The coil is boiled in the dye mixture for about 10 hours and then soaked in a container for about 12 hours. It is then left for about 24 hours in a container with soft black mud, washed in fresh water, and hung out in bundles to dry. When boiled the black dye fades slightly. Yellow sennit is made by boiling a coil with scraped *kura* roots for two hours. 283
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CANOES

I witnessed the process of construction, of sailing, and of paddling canoes on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea. Information concerning navigation was obtained on six interisland canoe trips in good and bad weather over a distance of 200 miles. Information concerning the double canoe was obtained from many old informants who had participated in their building and sailing. Much of it was furnished by Tatchini, the *lemaki* carpenter of Kambara. No complete double canoe is found in Lau today. But on Fulanga I examined parts of a small *sauthoko* constructed by Mathiu, the carpenter of Nasava, a chiefs' carpenter clan of Muanaitake, and on Levuka, Lakemba, a model *sauthoka* constructed by the same carpenter. 501

Two types of canoes, the single sailing canoe (*thamakathu*; pl. 5, A, B) and the paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*) are still made and in constant use in southern Lau. Both have single indirectly attached outriggers. The sailing canoe is a five-piece, completely decked canoe equipped with mast and lateen sail. The paddling canoe is either a simple dugout or a dugout with decked washstrakes. Only large sailing canoes are used outside the reef.

Informants say that formerly an outrigger canoe, called *ndavilai*, was also made. It resembled the *wangga vothe* but head and stern were of equal size and shape.

Two types of double canoes (*ndrua*), the *sauthoko* and the *tambetembete*, were formerly built in southern Lau. The *sauthoko* consisted of two built-up, decked canoes; the main canoe (*kata*), and the balancing canoe (*thama*), which served as outrigger. The *tambetembete* was a plank canoe with a keel said to have been introduced and built by the *lemaki* carpenters and the Tongan carpenters, who came to southern Lau for greenheart timber. Double canoes were used in interisland voyages in Fiji and between Fiji and Tonga.

Informants say that a raft (*ulatoka*), composed of logs lashed together with sennit, was formerly built to carry heavy loads. The *ulatoka* is mentioned by Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 76), and a model of an *ulatoka* in the Fiji Museum has been described by Hornell (16, p. 332). [505] •

Canoe making is today, as in the past, the most important industry in southern Lau because hard greenheart timber, used for hulls of double and large single sailing canoes, grows abundantly only on the forested, limestone island of Kambara and to some extent on Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava. 396

438 Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

438 Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The main trade routes in southern Lau are:

- 437 1. Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka
2. Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe
3. Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka
4. Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava
5. Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

438 Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occasionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

438 Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

[602] Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

105 Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

361 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
● [505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and
Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualavu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga.
[366] ~~Atah~~ This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

241 The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There
are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the
lower/slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region
remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left
in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualavu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and
landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the
limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting,
but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long
low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. And^WWathi
I. (250') and Yamuthaloe I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone
formations at the south end.